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ABSTRACT

Four cases of school integration illustrate that eliminating racial isolation has been shown to have no detrimental effect on majority children. Minority children can be benefited by increasing their achievement levels and IQ scores. All groups can benefit attitudinally. These gains, however, occur only some of the time and only under favorable circumstances. They depend on how the problems of integration are handled by the school district. In Sacramento, California, the schools made a commitment, had a plan, and evaluated what was actually occurring every year, revising and improving their plan as they went along. They called upon and received community support. Both they and the Berkeley schools utilized bus transportation. In Pasadena, the Unified School District sent out mailings to help the parents of their school-aged children become aware of just what desegregation, accomplished via bus transportation, in Pasadena schools would mean to them and what changes it would mean in their lives. The Shaker Heights schools provide another case of effective integration planning. Shaker Heights is a wealthy suburb adjacent to the east side of Cleveland. Between 1955 and 1963 another section of Shaker Heights known as Moreland began to receive a large number of black families. It was evident that something would have to be done to change the racial mix at Moreland and at almost all the white schools. A two year study was made to accomplish this, the results being presented at a large public meeting attended by almost 900 people. (Author/JM)

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[DESEGREGATION IN SACRAMENTO, BERKELEY, PASADENA, AND SHAKER HEIGHTS (OHIO).]

IMPROVED ACHIEVEMENT FOR MINORITIES IN SACRAMENTO

What has resulted from racial isolation?

When children are separated because of ethnic differences, they have almost no opportunity to understand or properly evaluate each other. When discrimination, either racial or economic, is added to separation, differences between groups become exaggerated. The children have a hard time learning to work together and get along together.

It has become the special task of educators to provide the kind of educational opportunities and structures that will help all children to learn in school, not only about subject matter, but also about people.

There has been a determined effort throughout the country to find out whether being segregated has really had an adverse effect on minority children. Over the years and as late as 1971 the story has been the same. The black and brown children have averaged from two to four years behind the white population in academic achievement. The minority child falls further behind each year after he starts school.

Eliminating racial isolation has been shown to have no detrimental effect on majority children. It has been proven to benefit minority children by increasing their achievement levels and IQ scores. In the scant evidence presently available, all groups have benefited attitudinally. These gains, however, occur only some of the time and only under favorable circumstances. They depend on how the problems of integration are handled by the school district. The important fact is that improvement can happen and often does. A recent report from Sacramento, California tells a story of success.

THE SACRAMENTO STORY

Why desegregate?

In 1964 Sacramento was ordered by court injunction not to build its new junior high school on the site of the one that had been recently burned. The court further ordered that a plan to end racial imbalance at the school be in effect by September of 1964. The school district responded by reassigning all the children from the burned-out school to other schools with low minority enrollment. Two years later a plan to eliminate segregation of elementary students was adopted.

Questions asked at that time were the same ones asked in nearly every other community that has faced desegregation: Would this really help the minority child? Would it hurt the achieving, well-adjusted majority child?

What could the segregated child gain in an integrated classroom that he could not in an improved segregated one? Now, seven years later, the Sacramento City Unified School District can answer the questions. In a summary statement published in September, 1971, the Research and Development Services made these assertions.

1. Both parents and school staff members stated that there were numerous "positive effects resulting from the re-assignment of minority pupils."

2. Discipline problems, which had never been listed as a major problem by most school personnel, became less with each year of integration.

3. Minority pupils reassigned to integrated schools tended "to perform better academically than do peers in . . . segregated schools."

4. Majority pupils in schools receiving the reassigned pupils did not experience any adverse effects in their academic accomplishments.

What happened when Sacramento Integrated?

One year after the school burning the minority group students who were reassigned to achieve racial balance showed the same gains in ability and mathematics as those in the receiving school. They did not gain as much in reading and writing achievement. Two years after the junior high school was destroyed the integrated minority students equaled the gains of the majority in ability, writing and mathematics. They significantly outgained them in reading achievement.

The elementary children had similar experiences. "Project Aspiration" was planned to eliminate "the adverse effects . . . desegregation" in 1966 and was evaluated every year after. Each year the results were better. By 1971 Sacramento was able to report the following outcome:

1. Improved pupil performance in reading achievement, Grades 1-6 and in arithmetic achievement, Grades 2-6.

2. Pupil performance exceeded the performance anticipated in the objectives of the program.

3. "The resource teacher program and the English as a second language program appeared to be effective for those pupils served."

4. "The concentration of compensatory programs had a positive impact on pupils' interest, attitudes, and attendance."

5. Changes measured by classroom teachers showed improvement in "respect for authority, participation in activities, 'and interaction with other pupils' for integrated project pupils."

6. "Black integrated pupils achieved significantly higher gains . . . in reading and in arithmetic . . . than did non-integrated black pupils" who were given compensatory educational programs. Non-integrated black children without compensatory programs showed the least gain.

7. "Integrated pupils of Spanish Surname . . . exceeded the performance objectives set for mathematics in Grades 2-5.

Why were the Sacramento schools able to accomplish their goals?

First, they made a commitment. Second, they had a plan. Third, they evaluated what was actually occuring every year, and they revised and improved their plan as they went along. They called upon and received community support. They provided busing and free lunches to children who needed these. They provided training programs for teachers. They hired and trained teacher aides, community aides, special resource people, parents, and auxilary support staff. They worked hard to make their program work.

Sacramento is not unique in its efforts to solve integration problems and offer better educational opportunities to all its children. It has been more successful than some. Success, however, seems to be a result of the determination of a school community to reach new heights in serving the needs of its people.

Kathleen Siggers

RESOURCE INFORMATION: "A Summary of the Assessments of the District's Integration Programs, 1964 - 1971," written by Edward B. Morrison and James A. Stivers; and "An Evaluation Report on a Program of Compensatory Education, ESEA, Title I, Focus on Reading and Mathematics, 1970 - 1971," written by Keith E. Hartwig and Edward B. Morrison, Sacramento City Unified School District, Albert J. Sassarego, Superintendent, Sacramento, California.

FACT SHEET

Riding the bus to school in Berkeley

December, 1970

Background

On September 10, 1968, the Berkeley Unified School District desegregated its elementary schools, and Berkeley became the first U.S. city with over 100,000 population and a significant minority school enrollment to desegregate its schools completely. (The secondary schools were desegregated in 1964.) To accomplish this desegregation, the elementary schools were divided into four zones, each of which contains several K-3 schools and one 4-6 school. Children who live beyond walking distance to the assigned schools are provided bus transportation. This is a "two-way" operation, with children from the predominantly black areas of the city riding the bus to the K-3 schools in the predominantly white areas, and children from the predominantly white areas riding the bus to the 4-6 schools, which are located in the predominantly black areas.

Facts and Figures

Q. How many children ride the bus each day?
A. Approximately 3560. About 2075 in grades kindergarten, 1, 2 and 3. About 1485 in grades, 4, 5 and 6.

Q. How long is the average riding time?
A. About 15 to 20 minutes average per child <u>each way</u> each day.
(A ride on any school bus–not just Berkeley's–is the safest time in the child's school day, according to figures compiled by the California State Superintendent of Public Instruction and the California Highway Patrol. The school bus has proved to be the safest form of transportation in California and in the United States, considering number of passengers, time and mileage.)

Q. Is discipline a problem on the buses?
A. No. For the first two or three weeks of each new school year, aides and volunteers ride the buses with the children and establish the behavior patterns that the children will be expected to observe. If any problems do develop, the principal and bus driver work together to settle them immediately. Drivers are regarded as school staff members by the principal.

Q. What provision is made for children who ride the bus to school and who wish to stay after school to participate in recreation programs?
A. Two late buses are provided, an hour apart, each afternoon.

Q. How many buses are used in Berkeley's transportation program?
A. Twenty-six. They range in size from 36 passengers to 91 passengers.

Q. Who owns the buses?
A. Of the 26 buses, six are owned by the district and 20 are under contract from Community Enterprises, Inc., of Stanton, California, which operates locally as Bay Cities Bus Company. (Community Enterprises is a major firm in this field with a fleet of 800 school buses.)

Q. Who drives the school buses?
A. There are 26 regular drivers–men and women–each of whom is especially trained for the job and each of whom must meet the rigid standards established by the State of California for the drivers of school buses. The same standards apply to drivers who substitute for the regular drivers.

Q. Are adults other than the driver regularly assigned to school buses?
A. No, not now. Adult bus aides were assigned to the buses during the first few weeks of the program and the beginning of each school year.

Q. Which children are eligible for bus transportation?
A. Kindergarten, first, second and third-grade children who live 3/4 of a mile or more from their assigned primary school and fourth, fifth and sixth-grade children who live one mile or more from their assigned intermediate school are eligible for bus transportation. (The distance is determined by measuring the nearest safe travel route as worked out by the district's Pupil Safety Committee in cooperation with the Berkeley Police Department and the City of Berkeley's Traffic Engineering Department.) The district does not supply transportation for secondary pupils (seventh through twelfth-grades). They ride the local transit buses at their own expense.

Q. What is the per-pupil cost of the busing program?
A. For a single pupil, the cost is 45 cents per day, or $78.27 per year for 1969-1970.

Q. What is the total annual cost to the district of the busing program?
A. The 1969-70 cost of the busing program was $278,653.00. Of this, the district paid $150,938.00 out of its own funds and is reimbursed for the rest by the State of California. (There is a complicated formula involving a school district's tax base for figuring this type of reimbursement. Because of this, Berkeley's figures should not be applied to any other school district since reimbursement can run anywhere from nothing to 75 per cent of the cost.)

Q. What is the over-all mileage figure for Berkeley school buses?
A. Berkeley school buses traveled about 327,000 miles during the 1969-70 school year.

Q. Does Berkeley transport pupils for purposes other than desegregation?
A. Yes. The school district does now and has regularly in the past provided bus transportation for students going on field trips, for handicapped children, athletic events, and for similar school-connected purposes.

Q. Does the bus transportation provided for these activities differ in any way from the bus transportation for desegregation?
A. No, the same standards apply.

Q. From whom may I obtain additional information on the school district's transportation program?
A. From William B. Rhodes, the district's Transportation Officer and Coordinator of Special Projects, 1720 Oregon Street, Berkeley, 94703. Phone 644-6185.

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THE PASADENA SCHOOLS AND COMMUNITY WORK OUT DESEGREGATION PROBLEMS

by

E.F. Granzow*

PASADENA - 1970

In May, 1970, the Pasadena Unified School District began sending out mailings to help the parents of their school-aged children become aware of just what desegregation in Pasadena schools would mean to them and what changes it would mean in their lives. This was just the first step in helping people who would be affected to understand and cope with the extensive busing needed to achieve racial balance and with a mixed racial school environment.

SUPPLYING THE FACTS -- RUMOR CONTROL

Throughout the summer, the district sent out extensive mailings to parents to inform them about how the new program would operate and how it would be different from the old ways. In these mailings, the district office tried to respond to parental concerns about the breadth and quality of each child's educational opportunities. They also kept the parents informed about how and when the Pasadena Plan for desegregation would be implemented. But even as these mailings went out, many people sought a more personal way of reaching their community.

The largest single effort in this direction was the establishment of an Information Center at the district office. The center, manned by members of the League of Women Voters, was open daily from May through September to answer questions about educational programs, busing, desegregation and so forth, as they arose. While it helped to educate the public, it also helped stop the rumors and myths that circulated as a result of the plans to desegregate.

Members of the district Intergroup Office tried to increase the general level of understanding by speaking to concerned community groups. By separating fact

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*E.F. Granzow is in the Urban Programs Office, University of California, Irvine Extension. November 1971.

from fallacy, they helped to dissolve some ofthe unfounded fears in the community and redirect concerned people's efforts to actual prcblems. Volunteers set up information booths at local supermarkets to make both themselves and specific information available to housewives and mothers. Books on the subject of school integration were placed on reserve at the public libraries so those who wanted to know more about it could.

All of the people involved hoped to add something to the awareness of the average citizen. They tried to respond to his (or her) questions and concerns about desegregation with honesty, factual information and, if necessary, action. But this by itself was not enough.

In addition to a parent's general concerns for the quality of their child's education, there was a whole new system to deal with. Fourteen thousand five hundred students would have to ride buses to their new schools. Parents needed ways to get to know other parents of children going to the same school. The community of Pasadena had to find ways to respond to these needs with concrete help.

MAKING IT WORK

To meet busing needs, the Transportation Department worked out a system for 87 buses to make 2,380 bus stops on some 595 routes, to get students to and from school. To make this system work, all drivers completed a one hundren hour training course and a special bus was supplied for students who participated in after-school programs.

Law enforcement agencies provided counsel and traffic control information and the Automobile Club of Southern California donated leaflets and cards on bus transportation and standards of behaviour for students being bused. SERVE, (Serving Effectively Through Volunteer Resource Effort), volunteers worked with PTA members to recruit and train transportation aides and bus stop volunteers. Both the Information Center and district mailings attempted to keep parents informed about busing and how it would specifically affect their children.

While some people tried to make the new system work, others assisted the new school communities in getting to know each other.

PTA's sponsored summer social events so parents whose children would be attending the same school could get to know each other. Elementary (K-3) held open house the day before school opened. This allowed parents a chance to see the new school and to meet the school's teachers and administrators.

To help students adjust to the new setting, a multi-ethnic counselor aide program has just been set up. A group of students in the junior high and high schools is being trained to act as peer counselors.

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Feature Article

THE SHAKER SCHOOLS' PLAN: SUBURBAN SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

by

Dr. John H. Lawson[1]

Shaker Heights is a wealthy suburb adjacent to the east side of Cleveland. Almost since their beginning in 1912, the public schools of Shaker Heights have been known for their excellence. In earlier times the student population of the public schools of Shaker Heights reflected the population of the city. Almost all of the students were white and Protestant. Eventually many Catholic and Jewish families moved into Shaker Heights, and the children began to attend the Shaker public schools. Then in 1955 the first black family moved to Shaker Heights. The reaction of many of the residents of the neighborhood where the black family moved was panic. It took several years and the formation of a community association before the neighborhood regained its balance.

BACKGROUND AND PHILOSOPHY:

Between 1955 and 1963 another section of Shaker Heights known as Moreland began to receive a large number of black families. The elementary school for that section grew to have a black population of about 90 percent. Meanwhile, some other elementary schools in Shaker Heights remained virtually all white. It was becoming evident that something would have to be done to change the racial mix at Moreland and at the almost all white schools. There were a number of reasons why it was felt that something had to be done. The statement of philosophy of the Shaker Heights Board of Education and administrative policy require that the moral values of students be developed and that they be prepared for responsible citizenship. It was felt that this could best be accomplished in racially mixed schools. Another factor creating a need for action was that citizens in Moreland were anxious to see the problem solved by the schools. They had given up hope that the housing effort, jointly sponsored by the city and school board, would end racial segregation in the schools.

PLANNING STAGE:

In 1967 I spoke to the Moreland Community Association and outlined some plans that were being used in other parts of the country to end racial segregation in schools. Shortly after that the board of education requested that a staff study be conducted to find a way to eliminate the racial imbalance in the Shaker elementary schools.

In the two-year period between the beginning of the study and the public announcement of the original version of the desegregation plan at the February 10, 1970 board meeting, there was a great deal of work done by many staff members.

Finally, the day arrived for the meeting at which the results of the staff study would be announced. The place of the meeting was shifted to allow space for the large crowd expected. Almost 900 people attended.

Many hours were spent in preparation for the meeting. Copies of the recommendations of the staff had been duplicated for distribution to the citizens who attended the meeting. Care was taken to arrange the seating on the stage so that those staff members who had played a key role in forming the recommendations would have a prominent position on the platform. Slides and transparencies to assist in explaining certain aspects of the plan had been prepared. Emotions were running so high that some people in the audience booed when the slides were shown to help explain the features of a central educational facility which was a part of the desegregation plan.

I delivered the Educational Report which was a review of the efforts of a task force under the leadership of the assistant superintendent to study racial imbalance in the Shaker elementary schools. The study conducted by the task force included housing, human relations and classroom instruction. I listed the key factors which were studied by the staff before recommendations for action to eliminate racial isolation were made to the board of education. The key factors were

[1]Dr. Lawson is superintendent of the Shaker Heights city school district, Shaker Heights, Ohio.

the enrollment over the last ten-year period, population changes and projections, academic achievement and pupil deficiencies. I reviewed some possible solutions to the problem of racial isolation, many of which had been tried in other communities throughout the country.

Finally, I listed the criteria established by the board of education for the implementation of any plan to end racial isolation and then I announced the recommendation of the staff. Basically, the plan called for the mandatory reassignment of the children in the top three grades of the predominantly black Moreland School to six other predominantly white elementary schools in Shaker Heights. Space freed at Moreland School by the reassignment of children in grades 4-6 was to be used for a centralized enrichment school. Children from all over the district were to be transported to this central school for short periods during the year.

The board of education held open forums on February 24 and March 3, the first at the high school and the second at the Byron Junior High School, to permit citizens to express their views of the recomemnded plan. I appealed to the citizens of Shaker Heights, "Let us join hands and make Shaker a better community and school district for every child." The plan to desegregate the elementary schools of Shaker Heights was under way.

I had recommended that two public meetings be held to discuss the plan. About 1,000 people were present at each session. Neither meeting got out of control. Every effort was made to answer fully the many questions which were asked. It seemed that the numbers of people in favor and opposed to the plan were about even. In addition to holding the large meetings, the members of the board of education and I met with the citizens of every elementary district except one in the neighborhood elementary school. There were also countless meetings in the homes of residents of all parts of the city. These meetings were arranged by the PTA Council, the League of Women Voters, the Dads' Club and the Shaker Heights Teachers' Association and usually included at least one member of the board of education, the school administration or the teaching staff. Opponents of the plan were reported to be numerous, but the opposition was represented in organized form by only one group.

Considerable pressure for modification or rejection of the original plan was being applied on the board of education and on me from several factions in Shaker Heights. Some argued that there should be a greater effort in housing in the Moreland district despite the failure of previous efforts. Black and white parents of Moreland argued that the plan took their children from the neighborhood school without regard for their wishes.

ADOPTION AND IMPLEMENTATION:

Finally, after many informal meetings between the members of the board of education, myself and some members of my staff, the board adopted a modified version of the plan at its May 5, 1970 meeting. The basic difference in the modified plan was that it made the transporting of any student optional with the parents. As a result, the space which was to have been created at the Moreland School by the transporting of all the students in grades 4-6 was not freed. Therefore, the plans for the centralized enrichment school had to be modified. Funding from the Ford Foundation enabled us to support a Math Lab and a Learning Disabilities Center at Moreland School. We also are using a new planetarium at our high school as a science center for elementary students. These centralized features for enriching the elementary curriculum will probably be expanded next year.

There have been no major problems concerning the Shaker Schools' Plan in its first year of operation. The small problems involved with the plan have centered around the mechanics of transportation and lunch. Despite the many hours that went into planning the bus schedules and routes, for example, it was about two or three weeks before the buses were on a dependable schedule. Student behavior on buses has also caused some small problems, but that is not unique to desegregation plans.

Before the Shaker Schools' Plan went into operation, there was no elementary lunch program in Shaker Heights. Elementary students went home for lunch. With the beginning of the plan, space had to be found in each elementary school for the students to eat lunch. We also had to find capable aides to supervise the students at lunch. There were some rough moments, but the lunch program is now operating satisfactorily. However, we think that we can plan some improvements in it over the summer.

With the beginning of the plan, Moreland, which had been the lowest of the elementary schools in almost every area of achievement tested, now climbed to around the middle of the Shaker elementary schools. In the beginning of the school year one could observe black children playing in one group and white children in another. As the days went by, it became evident that new friendships were being formed. Now it is not unusual to see groups of black and white students playing together.

The reaction of the parents whose children have been reassigned under the plan has been extremely favorable. The most compelling evidence that black and white parents alike have been pleased is the number of parents who have chosen to have their children remain in the Shaker Schools' Plan for next year. At the present time only two of over 200 students who were reassigned have chosen to withdraw from the plan. Although some students will be leaving elementary school to enter junior high school next year, 78 students will be entering the program for the first time next year so that the total number of participants will be greater in the second year of the plan's operation.

FEARS:

During the presentation of the plan to the citizens of Shaker Heights, there were three major fears expressed by the residents concerning the desegregation plan. One was that the mixing of the elementary students would result in lowering the quality of education in all the elementary schools in Shaker Heights. Another was that discipline problems would be created by the black students from Moreland School. The third was that teachers were not prepared for teaching in a desegregated setting.

At the moment there is no information on standardized tests with which to answer the first fear. We have just begun a spring testing program and will have that information available very soon. However, discussions with teachers and principals lead us to believe that, if anything, the educational program has benefitted from the Shaker Schools' Plan. We expect that the findings in numerous other desegregated schools will be repeated in Shaker Heights; that is, that the low-achieving students will improve with no loss in achievement for the high-achieving student.

As far as the behavior of the black students in their new schools is concerned, the fears expressed by people when the plan was under discussion have not materialized. This is not to say that there has not been some difference in the styles of the children in the receiving schools and the reassigned children. There have also been minor incidents involving students and teachers which have created some small problems. However, as the year has progressed, adjustments have been made on both sides so that open conflict between students and between students and teachers has become rare. We feel these adjustments have been of great educational benefit for the students and staff members involved.

We have begun an in-service program for which we received funds from the federal government specifically because of the desegregation plan. We believe that this in-service program has not only assisted the teaching staff in adjusting to their new conditions but that it has had a good influence on the quality of instruction in the elementary schools.

THE ONLY PATH:

It is difficult to speak about what the experience of Shaker Heights suggests for other communities faced with the problem of racially segregated schools. But the question is what can and must be done in our districts to provide each child with an education that will provide equal opportunity for a rich, meaningful and productive life. In my opinion the answer is to work unstintingly for elimination of school segregation and for the achievement of educational integration. To do less is to abdicate our responsibilities as professional educators. How this can best be accomplished in your community is for you and others to decide. This debate should not be over whether we are going to provide integrated education but how and when. We must insure that the debate about means does not obscure the end being sought.

The American dream of equality cannot be realized in separate schools and neighborhoods. Therefore, we need to attack this problem with as much determination and commitment of selves and resources as we had for space exploration when the Russians led us in 1957.

As John Gardner has written and as we learned in Shaker Heights, "There will be no easy victories." However, history will record our positions as educators in the fight to eradicate our country's most important ill. School segregation is our Sputnik I of 1971.

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